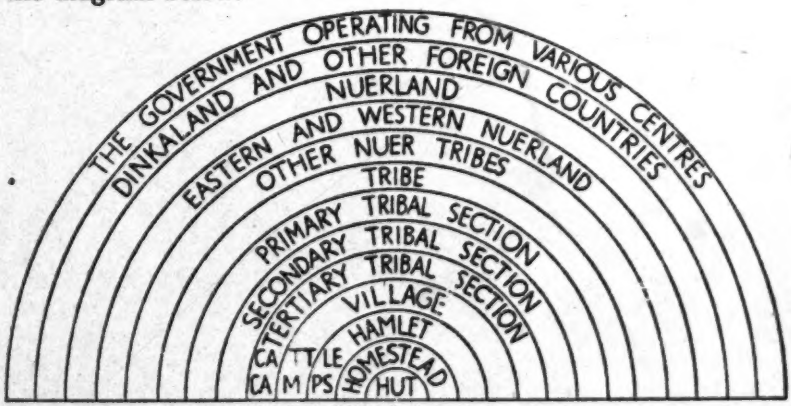
1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

already made, we will give immediate consideration only to political distance and only to some characteristics of it.

631 Nuer give values to local distributions. It might be thought a simple matter to discover what these values are, but since they are embodied in words, one cannot understand their range of reference without considerable knowledge of the people's language and of the way they use it, for meanings vary according to the social situation and a word may refer to a variety of local groups. It is, nevertheless, possible to differentiate them and to make a crude formal classification of them, as we have done in the diagram below.



Nuer Socio-Spatial Categories.

●592 621 A single living hut (*dwil* or *ut*) is occupied by a wife and her children and, at times, by her husband. They constitute a simple residential family group. The homestead, consisting of a byre and huts, may contain a simple family group or a polygamous family and there are often one or two kinsmen living there as well. This group, which we call a household, is often referred to as the *gol*, a word which means 'hearth'. A hamlet with gardens and waste land around it is called *dhor* and each has its special name, often derived from some landmark or from the name of the senior kinsman living there. A hamlet is 621 generally occupied by close agnatic kinsmen, often brothers, and their households, and we call this group of persons a joint family. As these groups are not treated in our account we say no more about them. It must be remembered, however, that a

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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621 occupy it, and small camps are sometimes named after an old person of importance who has erected his windscreen there. We have seen that the social composition of a camp varies at different times of the drought from the people of a hamlet to the people of a village, or of neighbouring villages, and that men sometimes camp with kinsmen living in camps other than those of their own villages. Consequently, while local communities of the rains tend to be also local communities in the drought their composition may be somewhat different. We again emphasize that not only are the people of a camp living in a more compact group than the people of a village, but also that in camp life there is more frequent contact between its members and greater co-ordination of their activities. The cattle are herded together, milked at the same time, and so on. In a village each household herds its own cattle, if they are herded at all, and performs its domestic and kraal tasks independently and at different times. In the drought there is increasing concentration and greater uniformity in response to the greater severity of the season.

[592]

634 619 We sometimes speak of a district to describe an aggregate of villages or camps which have easy and frequent intercommunication. The people of these villages take part in the same dances, intermarry, conduct feuds, go on joint raiding parties, share dry season camps or make camps in the same locality, and so on. This indefinite aggregate of contacts does not constitute a Nuer category or a political group, because the people do not see themselves, nor are seen by others, as a unique community, but 'district' is a term we employ to denote the sphere of a man's social contacts or of the social contacts of the people of a village and is, therefore, relative to the person or community spoken about. A district in this sense tends to correspond to a tertiary or a secondary tribal segment, according to the size of the tribe. In the smallest tribes a whole tribe is a man's district, and a district may even cut across tribal boundaries in that in a large tribe a border village may have more contacts with neighbouring villages of another tribe than with distant villages of its own tribe. The sphere of a man's social contacts may thus not entirely coincide with any structural division.

A number of adjacent villages, varying in number and total

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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Jikany where, I was told, a Dinka could never lose his inferior status, which was transmitted to his descendants. The acceptance of a permanent member of a community as equal to an aristocrat conforms to the general tendency among the Nuer for descent to be subordinated to community, a tendency which we shall constantly stress.

We again emphasize the point to which we drew attention in the section on law, that the degree of responsibility acknowledged for a tort, the chances of compensation being offered for it, and the amount of compensation paid, depend on the relations of the persons concerned in social structure. Thus, if a man kills an unadopted Dinka of his own household, who was not born in Nuerland, there is no redress, but his household will protect their Dinka against outsiders and will avenge his death at their hands. Dol, who is himself of Dinka descent, told me: 'If you curse a Dinka of your household, well, you curse him, that is all. If he is angry you tell him that you will kill him and that nothing will happen. You will merely clean your spear on the ground and hang it up. But if another man curses a Dinka of your household you fight him, for the Dinka is your brother. You ask the man whether he is your Dinka or his Dinka.'

The position of a Dinka in his own domestic circle is thus different from his position in relation to members of a wider group. He is only a *jaang* to the joint family which considers him 'their man.' To people standing outside this joint family he is a member of that *gol*, joint family, and it is not their business to differentiate his status within it. I was told that if an outsider called such a Dinka '*jaang*', the sons of the man who had captured him would resent the insult and might start a fight to wipe it out, for to them he is '*demar*', 'my brother', in relation to outsiders. They ask, 'Who is a *jaang*? Did your father seize him or did ours?' The acceptance of Dinka born in Nuerland as full members of Nuer households, hamlets, and villages is even more pronounced.

The status of Dinka is thus a relative one, and a man may be considered to belong to this category in one situation and not in another. This is obviously the case in social life generally, because ordinarily no one differentiates a man of Dinka descent from a man of Nuer descent, but we believe that it was also the

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY

I

593 SIMPLE legal marriage and the simple legal family which derives from it are standards to which the other kinds of union and family I have described are made to approximate in the interrelations of the persons concerned as far as circumstances permit. Even in widow-concubinage and in simple concubinage the male partner takes on himself, though to a lesser degree than a true husband, the attitude of respect a man should display to his parents-in-law. A man who lives with a woman and her children, whether as the legal representative of the husband and pater or not, models his relations with them on those obtaining in the home of a simple legal family. It is of such a home and family that I now give some account.

592 We noted in the first chapter that a Nuer homestead, the home of a family, to the household of which other kin may be attached, consists of a byre and its attendant hut or huts. The byre, a massive wattle-and-daub structure of some 15 to 20 feet in diameter, is the material and moral centre of the homestead. A man who builds a byre has started a family, herd, and home of his own. The byre stands for the father's status in the family. While he is alive his wives and sons and daughters are bound to him.

The byre looks on to the kraal and is the sleeping-place of the cattle in the rains; and some of the young men of the household may also sleep there, on a platform over the dung fire kept burning in the centre of it to give the cattle protection from mosquitoes. In the daytime it is the club-room of the household and the guest-room of the homestead, for byres, besides signifying the presence of a family and its head, are centres of social life in Nuer villages. When one sees a hut by itself it means that the byre has fallen down and has not yet been rebuilt or that the owner of the hut possesses at the time too few cattle to make it worth his while to build a byre for himself, since he can easily house his animals in that of a kinsman; unless it is the hut of an old widow or of a semi-detached concubine, neither of whom are likely to have cattle of their own. It sometimes happens that even an unmarried man

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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may have a byre if he is the eldest son of a dead man. When he is initiated into manhood his paternal uncles ought to build him a byre, 'so that his father's fire may be relit', and to hand over to him his father's herd which they have held in trust till he should take his father's place as head of the family. 592 ●

The wife has her hut at the side of the byre, and in a polygamous family each wife has her own hut, where she and her children sleep. Near to it there may be a simple shelter for cooking. In a large homestead there may also be a hut for the youths of the household to sleep in, and perhaps a hut for the senior girls. The head of the family has no hut of his own but sleeps in the huts of his wives. In such a polygamous family all the huts of the wives are built around the byre, and this attachment symbolizes for Nuer what we call the agnatic principle of their society, which insists that all the sons of a man belong to his lineage irrespective of their maternal affiliations, their links with the kin of their mothers through the different huts within the homestead. Very early in life small boys are driven by their father or elder brothers away from their mothers' huts to the byre, the place of the menfolk of the family, where they eat, sleep, and spend the leisure hours of the day. When they are about seven or eight years of age they sleep there instead of in their mothers' huts, where the women and girls eat and sleep and near which they spend most of the day. The men and boys, to whichever hut they may belong, belong also, and primarily, to the byre and to its *gol*, a word which means, as I have earlier explained, the fire of cattle-dung kept burning day and night in the centre of the byre (there is sometimes a second one in the kraal) and its hearth; and also homestead, hamlet, family, household, and even lineage in certain contexts. Daughters belong to the huts and they will be married from them into stranger lineages, into which they are absorbed. Sons belong to the byre and to the lineage of its owner. This connexion between byre and lineage is seen when a new byre is built, for then the master of ceremonies of the family is summoned to make a libation of beer to the guardian spirits and ancestral ghosts of the lineage before its central support is planted, so that they may give peace and prosperity to all who dwell therein. In the byre, at the side of the hearth, is kept a branch, decorated with metal rings and pieces of skins of sacrificed beasts, which serves as an ancestral shrine. In summer camps a windscreen takes the place [595] [603]

2;Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

of the byre as the men's dormitory and club, and the shrine is placed at its entrance. Small grass beehive huts take the place of the wattle-and-daub huts of the villages as the dwellings of the womenfolk of the home.

The polygamous family is a unit, the *gol* of the husband of the several wives. '*Jigoala*', 'the people of my hearth', are my family in this inclusive sense. But the children of each wife also belong exclusively to her *dwil* (or *ut*), hut, and to her *mac*, cooking-fire, so that the polygamous family is divided into a number of separate domestic groups within the larger whole. The huts of the different wives are the centres of these elementary families which have a common husband and father. Outside her hut each wife has her *buor*, a mud windscreen, against which she makes her cooking-fire, and near to it is her *thung*, a plastered hole in the ground for pounding millet (she has another fire-place and another pounding-hole inside her hut for use on rainy days). This mud screen, the top of which is fashioned into three humps, is the sign of a married woman's status as the mistress of her home and the mother of children, just as the hearth in the byre is the sign of a man's status as the father of a family and the master of household and herd; and it also has ritual associations, for sacrifices are made near it. It is the centre of a married woman's life. Here her friends and neighbours gossip with her when she is working or in the evening when work is done.

As boys grow up they attach themselves more and more to the byre, but each remains, both in sentiment and by social alinement, also a member of his mother's hut. Hence one may distinguish between full brothers and paternal half-brothers by saying that the first are brothers *kwi dwiel*, on the side of the hut (as we say, on the distaff side), while the second are brothers *kwi luak*, on the side of the byre (as we say, on the spear-side); and this distinction is a fundamental one in Nuer society, for it runs not only through the family but through the kin also, and is moreover the paradigm of the lineage structure.

With the huts go the gardens, with the byre go the cattle and the kraal. Each wife has her own garden and granaries, and with her millet she makes porridge for herself and her daughters, small sons, and guests, and also porridge and beer for the men and boys in the byre, the male members of the whole household, only some of whom would be her own sons, and any male neighbours and

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Most African societies practise the levirate but the Nuer regulation by which the widow is still married to her dead husband profoundly modifies the practice in their society. It gives the simple legal family great stability and durability. The domestic group, the household, may break up through the death of the father but the simple legal family, the group of husband, wife and children born of the wife, endures. The personnel of the household may undergo many changes but the institution of the family is fixed by payment of bride-wealth which determines who is pater to any children born of the wife, whether the man be alive or dead. The family structure survives dispersal of its members and even the death of some of them. 587 768 592 593

But, although a wife is tied legally to her husband after his death, she has far more actual freedom than in societies where she can be remarried by one of her husband's kinsmen. The fact that she cannot become the legal wife of one of her dead husband's brothers considerably lessens their control over her. After her husband's death she can continue to perform her procreative obligations to him by bearing him children as well by a stranger as by one of his brothers, and she can rear her children in the home of a stranger as well as in the home of her husband's kin. Moreover, if during her husband's lifetime she bore him children her domestic and economic duties to her husband's people are adequately performed by her services to his children. In these circumstances, as will be explained more fully later, the husband's kinsmen must give her her freedom. 587 593 562

Leviritic marriage normally means the cohabitation of a man with his dead brother's wife. Sometimes, however, she lives with one of his sons. If a young man dies his children will not be old enough to take his wife. Also he is most unlikely to have another wife than their mother. Moreover, he probably has younger brothers who, being yet unmarried, have first claim on her services. When an old man, who has married several women, dies it is probable that most of the wives will be old also and elect to live with their own sons and daughters, or, if they wish to continue sexual relations, will choose to live with a lover who is not of their husband's kin. It is only when an old man dies who has lately married a young wife (who has not yet born him children, or who has born him a single child), and whose brothers are all married, that a son takes his father's wife. 587 768

Generally a young widow lives with a brother of her husband and it is only when there are no brothers living that she takes a lover from an unrelated, or distantly related, lineage. Tradition, good form, and threat of divorce, are powerful sanctions to conformity in this respect, though these influences are not so strong in the case of a half brother as in the case of a full brother, for a father's son of the dead husband has not the same claim on the services of the widow as a mother's son. Indeed, I was informed, among the Eastern Nuer especially, that a clear distinction is made between full and half brothers in respect of widows. After the death of a paterfamilias the children of each of his wives often live as largely independent economic units. If the mother is alive she cooks, 587 768 593

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30 SOME ASPECTS OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY AMONG THE NUER

II:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

VILLAGE OF NYUENY KARLUAL TRIBE

Diagram VI

ll:Evans-Pritchard E-5a(1931, 1936) 1945
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Nyueny is one of the finest
ridges (*thar*) in Western Nuerland and in times of flood the people of 361
neighbouring villages encamp there. This advantage is slightly offset by 312
the corresponding fact that there is often insufficient water for the cattle
early in the dry season, so that the people of Nyueny are among the first
to move to dry season camps. The population of the village is approxi- [161]
mately[1] 129 souls.

The village, commencing from the outlying hamlet of Dorpan, consists [621]
of the following 26 homesteads.

Homestead No. 1 Nyaluthni ♀ —Rial ♂. She is a barren woman with 592
many cattle which she has obtained partly as fees, for she is a well known 361
diviner and magician, and partly from the bride-wealth of her nieces, for 588
her brother has several daughters and she not only gets the cattle due to a bride's paternal aunt but also some of those due to a bride's paternal uncle, because, being barren, she counts in some respects as a man. She exchanged a Dinka woman for cattle (*ce rek jaanga luil ka ghok*). This was not, properly speaking, a marriage but we might describe it more correctly as an exchange or even a purchase. This woman, Luel ♀, bore two children, Majak ♂ and Nyagai ♀, by a Dinka man. Nyaluthni has also married, by payment of bride-wealth and by performance of the usual ceremonial, two Nuer girls. One Nyabuor ♀, gave birth to twins, of whom Buth ♂, survives, by a man of the Jikul clan, Wecyil ♂ by name. When Wecyil ♂ died she cohabited with a Jikany man called Kemkin ♂. and she is now in child by him. The second girl, Nyakoka ♀, has recently been married and she has not yet borne children. She cohabits with Rwot ♂, a kinsman of Nyaluthni of the Tedar minor lineage.

These men do not live in Nyaluthni's homestead but frequently visit it and stay there for one or several nights. They hoe her gardens and are chosen to cohabit with her wives because they are known to be hard-working gardeners. They are given meals when they are present, and on the marriage of the daughters he has begotten the genitor will receive a cow from the bride-wealth of each.

Nyaluthni (generally known as Nyarial after her father) is the pater of 592
the children of her wives and she is always spoken of as such when their 593
names are mentioned. Thus people always speak of Majak ♂ —Nyarial 588
♀ and Nyagai ♀ —Nyarial ♀. Her children address her as *gwe*, "father", and not as *ma*, "mother". She is a woman of outstanding character, with fine features, and always well-dressed. She is very competent and runs her homestead like a man. If her wives are lazy or disobedient she beats them. They treat her with the respect due to a husband and place meals before her with the same ceremony as they would employ to a male husband. She speaks of them as "my wives". She directs the business

[1] I say "approximately" because it was not my intention to compile a census though in fact I did so in the course of my enquiry into matrimonial conditions in the village. Consequently it is possible that two or three girls whom I have reckoned as residents are married to husbands in other villages. This may have been the case at the southernmost end of the village. I know everyone in the of rest the village too well for this mistake to have been made, enquiry always being controlled by personal contact.

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
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592 593 588 of the kraal and homestead with the skill of an experienced herdsman and householder and stands no interference in matters pertaining to the cattle, even from her initiated son, Majak ♂.

592 588 *Homestead No. II.* Col ♂ —Ngunjok ♂. He lives with Nyarueni ♀ whom he married to the name of his father (see Diagram No. VII). He is now contemplating marriage on his own account. I am uncertain whether Nyarueni has a baby or not. The byre of this homestead originally belonged to Wec ♂ (see Homestead No. X.), who sold it to Col ♂ for a he-goat. One of the huts belonged to Nyaluthni ♀ (see Homestead No. I), who lived there for a time before moving to her present hamlet.

[611]

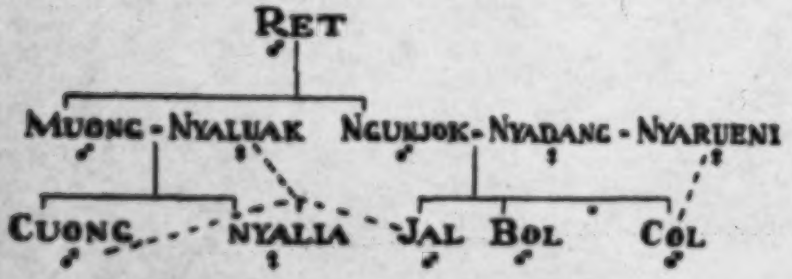

Diagram VII

Homestead No. III. Baranyai ♂ —Kwenwar ♂. He lives with a woman whom he married to the name of his maternal uncle Yoah ♂—Pan ♂. In our village we speak of Baranyai's mother as Nyajal ♀—Kuth ♂ and those who know about her brother speak of him as Yoah ♂—Kuth ♂ but this usage is not correct because their pater was Pan ♂, a man of the Jikul clan. After Pan's death in an epidemic of smallpox his children were brought up by Kuth ♂. On the marriage of Baranyai's sisters there were no claimants to the bride-wealth on the maternal uncle's side, Yoah ♂ and his brothers and sons being all dead, so " the cattle of the maternal uncle " went to Baranyai and his brothers. Baranyai received most of them and married his maternal uncle a wife with them. He has begotten by her Ngundeang ♂, Rwot ♂, and Thak ♂. A natural son of Baranyai ♂, named Galuak ♂, also lives here. He was born of a widow-concubine, Nyadang ♀ (see Homestead No. XXI). Baranyai also has a small daughter by another widow-concubine, Nyadut ♀, (see Homestead No. XVIII). She lives with her mother. Baranyai has no legal wife of his own.

Homestead No. IV. Nyamani ♀, widow of Luak ♂. To her husband she bore Bilieu ♂ and a daughter. Since her husband's death she has cohabited with Panyuan ♂ (see Homestead No. IX) by whom she bore twins who died and Bol ♂. She was pregnant with another child when I left the village. See Diagram No. IX.

Homestead No. V. Wang ♂. He is unmarried.

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
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Homestead No. VI. Rainen ♂—Ngwoth ♂. He lives here with his legal wife, Nyadang ♀—Col ♂, by whom he has begotten two sons and five daughters. His byre has fallen down and his cattle are housed in the byre of homestead No. V. The mother of Wang ♂, the owner of this byre, shares a hut with Nyadang ♀. During my visit a Dok girl was living here as unmarried concubine to Rainen's eldest son, Nhial ♂.

Homestead No. VII. Juan ♂—Tien ♂ (brother of Yang ♂ of homestead No. XIX). He lives with Nyaghok ♀, one of his father's widows. His mother, Tikjac ♀, a Lek woman, also lives at his home. Tikjac ♀ bore her husband two sons, Yang ♂ and Juan ♂, and two daughters, Nyayoah ♀ and Nyathal ♀. She is now past child-bearing. Tien's second wife, Nyaghok ♀, a Dinka woman, committed adultery during her husband's lifetime with one of his distant agnatic kinsmen, called Deng. A boy, Dadou ♂, was born of this adulterous congress. He also lives in this homestead. After Tien's death Nyaghok ♀ cohabited with his son, Juan ♂, to whom she bore a daughter, Mer ♀. See Diagram No. VIII.

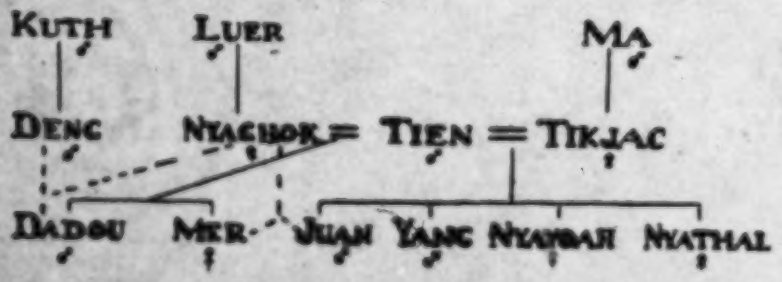

Diagram VIII

Homestead No. VIII. Nyaruithni ♀—Kwenwar ♂, the widow of Rwacar ♂. She is now past child-bearing and does not cohabit with any man. During Rwacar's lifetime she bore two children, but neither by him, both being the fruit of adultery. Her daughter, Nyakewa ♀, who was killed this year by lightning, was begotten by Luin ♂—Kwany ♂, a Lek tribesman, and her son, Malith ♂ was begotten by Gak ♂—Yol ♂, a Jikany tribesman. Her brother's son, Gai ♂—Karlual ♂, lives in her byre and looks after her herd.

Nyaruithni's sister Nyaudol ♀—Kwenwar ♂, paid a visit to her homestead this year. When Nyakewa ♀ was killed by lightning Nyaudol's husband, Yoah ♂, was killed at the same time. Nyaudol ♀ says that since she is now a widow she will remain at Nyueny with her children by Yoah ♂: Weetwok ♂, Bilieu ♂, Gatdwiel ♀, and Nyankeni ♀.

Homestead No IX. Karlual ♂—Kwenwar ♂. He first married Nyakuom ♀—Kok ♂. She died without children and the cattle were returned (Tang ♂—Karlual ♂ married a wife with them). Karlual ♂ then married

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
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587 Karlual ♂ then married
Nyaweny ♀—Kong ♂ who is also dead. She bore him Tang ♂ and Gai
592 ♂. Lately he has married Nyariek ♀—Cang ♂ by whom he has an unweaned child. He has an unmarried concubine who was temporarily absent during my visit. She has borne him two sons, Twong ♂ and
[343] Kong ♂. Cattle have been paid to legitimatize Twong ♂ and more cattle
[431] will be paid to legitimatize Kong ♂.

Karlual's brother, Panyuan, lives in his byre, and his sister's sons, Nhial ♂—Rainen ♂ and Gaiuak ♂—Rainen ♂, spend most of their time there and house some of their cattle there.

592 736 *Homestead No. X.* Meat ♂—Col ♂. He is unmarried. In his byre lives his half-brother, Wec ♂—Jany ♂, who has married a wife to the name of one of his father's brothers. She has borne him Korwai ♂ (dead), Nhial ♂, Nyajuacni ♀, and Nyapuot ♀. As he has no cattle, he has sold his byre to Col ♀ of Homestead No. II, and as he is too lazy to cultivate a garden, his wife and family, to save themselves from starvation, live at her sister's home in another village. He wanders hither and thither and scrounges on other people. Another occupant of this byre is Meat's sister's son, Bilieu ♂—Lam ♂.

592 607 *Homestead No. XI.* Jal ♂—Ngunjuk (brother of Col of homestead No. II). The two brothers live at a distance because their wives do not get on well together. His brother, Bol ♂, and his half-brother, Pan ♂, share his byre. Both are unmarried. Jal ♂ has married a wife to the name of his father's brother, Muong ♂—Ret ♂. This woman, Nyaluak ♀—Deng ♂ has bore him Cuong ♂ and Nyalia ♀. One of the huts in this homestead belonged to Jal's mother who died last year. See Diagram No. VII.

592 588 *Homestead No. XII.* Nyawal ♀—Col ♂. Her husband was Lam ♂ of the Ngwol clan. She bore him Rwac ♂ (dead) and Nyakwoli ♀. After his death she cohabited with Juan ♂ of the Jikul clan, by whom she bore Bilieu ♂, Nyakuan ♀, Nyalieth ♀, Ghuth ♂, Bathu ♀, and Nyalita ♀. She is past child-bearing and does not cohabit with any man. Her cattle are housed in the byre of her brother Meat ♂, of Homestead No. X.

592 588 [775] *Homestead No. XIII.* Nyading ♀—Kulang ♂. Her daughter, Nyamani ♀, was married by Tang ♂—Karlual ♂ to the name of Ran ♂, a brother of his father (though begotten by Kwenwar while Karlual ♂ was begotten by Jany ♂). Ran ♂ had died before initiation and his ghost began to kill Karlual's wives and children and had to be quieted by being married a wife. Nyamani ♀ lives with her mother, Nyading ♀, whose husband, Dak ♂—Jiong ♂, is dead. She bore Dak ♂ three children: Nyamani ♀, Nyaghok ♀, and Gai ♂. Dak ♂ by another wife begat Nyajaani ♀ who also lives in this homestead. Nyajaani ♀ was married by Pathol ♂—Nyaalbor ♂ of the Lual section and bore him a blind son who also lives here. She refused to live with her husband's brother when he
[582] died, so the cattle of her bride-wealth were returned. She was then married to another man and divorced by him. She now cohabits with Mokwac ♂ of Homestead No. XVI and has borne him a son.

Homestead No. XIV. Loc ♂—Jany ♂. He married a wife, Can ♀—Giling ♂ of the Reng section of the Jikany tribe, to the name of his dead

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
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brother, Gwanbul ♂—Jany ♂, who was killed in war. She has borne Loc ♂ a son, Col ♂. Jor ♂—Jany ♂ shares this byre. 592 588

Homestead No. XV. Nyading ♀—Thiep ♂. She died last year but as her hut is still standing she is included in this list. She was a wife of Jany married to him after his death by his son Gwanbul ♂ to whom she bore a son, Jor ♂, and three daughters. On the death of Gwanbul she cohabited with Mokwac of Homestead No. XVI but has not borne him children.

Homestead No. XVI. Mokwac ♂—Nen ♂. He shares this hut with Yuol ♀, widow of Diou ♂—Nhial ♂, an aristocrat of the Dieny section. She had three children by Diou, two being dead and one, Nyaroah ♀ being alive. By Mokwac she had a son, Thor ♂, who died, a daughter, Nyatiacni ♀, and a newly born daughter. Mokwac also cohabits with Nyadang ♀, of Homestead No. XXI. She has not borne him children but "cooks for him". Before her death Mokwac used to cohabit with Nyading of Homestead No. IV. He has no wife of his own.

Homestead No. XVII. Nyathagh ♀—Lagh ♂. A Dinka captive who was married to Dong ♂—Col ♂, a Jikul man. She bore him a daughter who died, and a son, Patai ♂. When her husband died he had no brother to cohabit with her and, being a Dinka captive, she had no kinsmen with whom she could reside, so she became concubine to Cel ♂—Thiep ♂, a leopard skin chief of the Keunyang section. She bore him Nyathat ♀, Nyaling ♀, Nyangiek ♀, Kur ♂, and Nyaduot ♀ (dead). On Cel's death she remained in his homestead, her present abode, and took a lover, Riek ♂—Juc ♂, of the Reng section of the Jikany tribe. She bore him no children and relations between them ceased. At present she has no lover. 592 727

Homestead No. XVIII. Nyadut ♀—Tweth ♂ (sister to Nhial ♂ of Homestead No. XXIII). She is a widow of Cuc ♂—Thol ♂ of the Riaagh clan. There were no children of this marriage and on her husband's death she lived in leviritic concubinage with Duob ♂—Cuc ♂, one of her husband's sons to whom she bore Leau ♂, Nyayoac ♀, Wany ♂, and another son. Duob ♂ was killed by Mokwac of Homestead No. XVI (compensation was paid but although Mokwac ♂ and Leau ♂—Doub ♂ live side by side they do not eat or drink together). For a while Nyadut ♀ then cohabited with Marial ♂—Kwong ♂ of the Gai section of the Jikany tribe. She bore him a child which died. Its death convinced them that they ought not to have had relations because Nyadut was *cek gwandong*, "grandfather's wife", to Marial. She now cohabits with Baranyai ♂ of Homestead No. III She has borne him a daughter. Nyadut's byre has fallen down. People say that it will be rebuilt next year. 782

Homestead No. XIX. Yang ♂—Tien ♂ (brother of Juan of Homestead No. VII. when I asked why the brothers do not live together I was told *Juan mun me ce bec doreme, ce Yang ce bec doreme*, "Juan has a site which suits him down here, and Yang has a site which suits him up there".) Yang married Nyabeel ♀—Dec ♂ but she died, with her baby, in childbirth as a consequence of incest. She had incestuous relations both with a kinsman of her husband and with a kinsman of her own. (As she brought death on herself Yang ♂ did not have to compensate her kinsmen for her death.) 592 684 835

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592 death.) Yang ♂ cohabits with Nyabuk ♀—Riaagh ♂ who lives in his homestead. She is a widow of Thiac ♂—Jok ♂, of the Diany section. By her husband she bore Nyalani ♀ and by Yang ♂ she bore Nyawura ♀ [764] who was killed by lightning and is honoured by a ceremonial post in Yang's homestead, Jany ♂, Nyabiel ♀, Nyangir ♀, and two other children who died. Yang ♂ is betrothed to a girl but she has not yet borne him a child and still lives with her parents.

592 588 *Homestead No. XX.* Dhoal ♂—Cuc ♂ (a Dinka who was given Nuer kinship). He had relations with Gol ♀—Gek ♂, an unmarried girl, who bore him Rwac ♂. The mother is dead and the boy has been legitimatized by payment of a fee. He has recently been initiated in Dhoal's homestead. Dhoal ♂ now cohabits with Nyabiem ♀—Kan ♂, a widow of a man of the Jwal clan. She lives in Dhoal's homestead. After her husband's death Nyabiem cohabited with one of his kinsmen, Gany ♂—Bul ♂ to whom she bore Nyagac ♀, at present living with her mother. She came to live with Dhoal ♂ after separating from Gany and bore him Nyabilieu ♀ and another daughter who is still an infant. Dhoal ♂ also cohabits with Nyadhiac ♀ who lives in an adjacent homestead, No. XXIV, and has begotten several children by her; and with a young woman of the Dok tribe who has run away from her husband in Dok country and taken up her residence in Dhoal's home. She has not borne him any children but is said to be an excellent cook. As her husband's cattle have not been returned she is living in adultery with Dhoal but since she refuses to live with her husband and since she is a member of a distant tribe she counts as equivalent to a widow-concubine and is not counted as an unmarried concubine.

592 588 593 *Homestead No. XXI.* Nyadang ♀—Luk ♂ (of the Jikul clan). She is a widow of Dit ♂—Bicuk ♂ of the Keunyang section. Her only living child by her husband is Nyakwoli ♀. Two are dead. After her husband's death she cohabited with Baranyai ♂ of Homestead No. III. By him she bore a son, Gafuak ♂, who lives with his genitor, twins who died, and another son, Bol ♂, who was drowned when crossing a river during flight from a Government punitive expedition. Owing to these deaths Nyadang's genealogy was more closely enquired into and it was discovered that she was distantly related to Baranyai. They thereupon ceased to cohabit and Nyadang took Nhial ♂—Tweth ♂, of Homestead No. XXIII, as a lover. She bore him Nyabilieu ♀ but left him because he used to beat her and she now cohabits with Mokwac of Homestead No. XVI. She has not borne him any children but "cooks for him". Nyadang's unmarried brother, Wal ♂—Luk ♂, lives in this homestead.

592 588 *Homestead No. XXII.* Nyagany ♀. She is barren. She was divorced by her husband, Deng ♂, a Lek tribesman, and then cohabited first with Mok ♂—Jang ♂, another Lek tribesman, then with a Rengyan tribesman, and at present with Mabil ♂—Wel ♂ of the village of Nyang.

592 595 *Homestead No. XXIII.* Nhial ♂—Tweth ♂ (brother of Nyadut ♀ of Homestead No. XVIII). He is Bor tribesman. He has two wives: Nyabath ♀—Lam ♂, a Jikany woman of the Gai section, by whom he has a small son; and Nyantual ♀—Deng ♂, a Jikany woman of the Gom

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
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section, whom he has recently wed. She still lives with her parents and has not yet brought the infant daughter she bore Nhial to his home. At one time Nhial cohabited with Nyadang of Homestead No. XXI. The byre in his homestead has fallen down and will soon be rebuilt. 592 595

Homestead No. XXIV. Nyadhiac ♀—Wal ♂, a widow of Galuak ♂—Thol ♂. She bore her husband Tap ♂ who lives in the homestead of Dhoal ♂ of Homestead No. XX. Dhoal ♂ now cohabits with her and she has borne him Gai ♂, Puot ♂, Nyagwar ♀, Laoth ♂, Nyakwoli ♀, and a female infant. This cohabitation would be regarded by Nuer as leviritic concubinage because Galuak ♂ and Cuc ♂, the father of Dhoal ♂, were both sons of Thol. 592 587

Nyadhiac's mother, Nyaleeni ♀, a very old Baggara Arab captive, lives with her. [727]

Homestead No. XXV. Kwol ♂—Kwoth ♂ (Kwoth ♂, Galuak ♂, and Cuc ♂ were brothers). Kwol is unmarried. His mother, Nyamani ♀—Kulanga ♂, a Bor woman, and his brothers, Buth ♂ and Duoth ♂, and his sister, Nyaliah ♀, live in the same homestead. He shares his cattle-byre with Nhial ♂, of Homestead No. XXIII, and two sons of Dit ♂, Rwot ♂ and Wecjok ♂ (Homestead No, XXVI). 592

Homestead No. XXVI. Nyaluak ♀—Yoah ♂, widow of Dit ♂—Bicuk ♂, to whom she bore Rwot ♂, Yangdoah ♀, Nyakur ♀, Nyampath ♀, and Wecjok ♂. After her husband's death she cohabited with Carou ♂—Gwec ♂ of Nyang village to whom she bore Nyibol ♀, Ging ♀, and Nyaduoth ♀. She is now past child-bearing. She is a noted diviner and magician. The byre of this homestead fell down last year. 592 588

The information collected about matrimonial conditions at Nyueny is not full enough to allow a very fine classification but a crude analysis in the form of a summary may be presented. There are thirty three women in the village who have either been married or have borne children. The number includes only women living in the village as their normal residence and not such women as Nyaudoh ♀—Kwenwar ♂ even though she has declared her intention of settling there; nor the wife of Nhial ♂—Rainen ♂ because she has gone back to her own people and he is almost certain to divorce her; nor the unmarried woman who was living as Nhial's concubine because she was a bird of passage. I have not counted women, recently married by men of Nyueny, who are still living in the homes of their parents. These thirty-three women are living in the domestic conditions shown in the first column. 583

The second column presents an analysis of all the different types of union to which the thirty-three women are known, at one time or another, to have been partners. The second column does not pretend to the accuracy of the first for I did not attempt to record the complete domestic history of each woman, though much information about them was collected in the course of a general enquiry. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the second column will be of service in correcting any distortion in the first, for, except for unmarried concubines who have not been married and afterwards divorced, all the women have at one time lived in the union of one or other form of marriage. I have not attempted to estimate the number

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

SOCIAL UNITS

592 1. A single living hut occupied by a wife, her children and, at times, her husband if the family is a polygynous one.

2. The homestead *(gol)* consisting of a byre and huts, and containing a simple family group or polygynous family, sometimes with other relatives attached.

621 3. The hamlet *(dhor)* consisting of a cluster of homesteads surrounded by their pastures and cultivations. Each hamlet has its own name and is generally inhabited by close agnatic kinsmen, often brothers and their families.

621 4. The village, a very distinct unit, usually referred to as *cieng* (home). The population may be anything from fifty to several hundred.
361 If the village is built on a ridge, homesteads and hamlets may be strung out for a considerable distance. Villages are usually distinct from each other, there being several miles of bush, swamp and grass between them. Well-marked paths, made by the constant visits exchanged by the inhabitants, join the villages to each other.

621 A village consists of a community linked by common residence and by a network of kinship and affinal ties. The inhabitants co-operate in many activities - social, economic and military - and form dry-season camps together. The village is the political unit of Nuerland and is the smallest group which is not specifically of a kinship order.(1) People of one village have a strong feeling of solidarity vis à vis people of other villages.

621 5. The cattle camp *(wec)*; early cattle camps may be found wherever
361 there are depressions, pools, and patches of fresh pasture. The location of the larger camps is largely predetermined, as only a few places provide adequate pasture and water to the height of the dry season. The size of the camp depends on these resources and, whereas early camps consist only of a few households, later camps vary from 100 to 1,000 souls. Such concentrations comprise larger or smaller tribal sections and each group has its own separate section of the camping ground. Neighbouring villages participate in a cattle camp, and relatives from distant villages may join their kinsmen. There is more co-operation within a camp than within a village, as the cattle are herded together and milked at the same time, whereas in a village each homestead, in the main, herds its own cattle. A large camp is called after the dominant lineage in it or after the main village community occupying it.

634 6. The district, "an aggregate of villages and camps which have easy intercommunication".(2) It corresponds to a small tribal segment, although it may include a whole tribe or more in the case of very small

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p.111.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.111.